

# THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

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The solution of the Economic Problem

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Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

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# jamahiriya review

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# jamahiriya review

Issue No 9 February 1981

IN TRIPOLI during early January the voice of the Libyan people was expressed through the General People's Congress. In an extended report, we look at the decisions reached on a range of important topics: the Jamahiriya's relations with the international community and Libya's neighbouring states; changes in the Libyan administration; and the country's new five year development plan which will establish the Jamahiriya in the industrial age by the middle of the decade.

CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION has been given to the Libyan Jamahiriya's relations with neighbouring Chad by the international media. A news report provides factual information on recent events, while an editorial comment looks at the Jamahiriya's real intentions in sending forces into Chad, and the motives of the international press in presenting a picture which has little connection to the facts and reality.

THE GREEN Book, the theoretical writings of Libya's revolutionary leader, Muammer Qadhafi, rejects the parliamentary system of the western countries and calls for a genuine expression of citizens' views through a series of congresses at all levels of the community. John Ellison provides this month's essay, in which he looks at the failings of parliamentary democracies.

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## Who is really threatening the independence of Africa?

WHILE THE western press has devoted extensive coverage to Chad during late 1980 and early 1981, to depict the country as vital to western interests and those surrounding African countries which put western interests before their own, the thrust of the propaganda campaign against the Libyan Jamahiriya is that Libya has no interests there, and no right to establish an alliance with the legitimate government of a neighbouring country.

The dilemma for the West is that the recognised government in Chad has turned to its northern neighbour, Libya, rather than to any of the non-African big powers. Despite protestations of the western governments and their compliant press, the Libyan forces were invited into Chad by the legitimate government to assist in putting down an armed insurrection, which was backed by Egypt and the United States.

And although Libya's aid to Chad is condemned and deplored by the western media, double standards exist when it comes to the possibility of France re-asserting its influence in Chad. On 8th January the *International Herald Tribune* alleged in an editorial that the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi has plans for 'a great Saharan empire', and the paper continued, 'The Libyans themselves have drawn up maps envisaging a "Greater Libya", including Chad, Niger, Tunisia and Algeria.' The paper did not, of course, produce any evidence to support this piece of fantasy. Instead, it lamented France's failure to intervene, and added, 'The French surely could have arranged (our emphasis) an invitation back if they wanted.'

Hence we have a situation in which it is quite proper and correct that France, in central Europe, is considered to have a perfectly legitimate right to intervene in central Africa, while the Libyan Jamahiriya is condemned for responding to a request for aid from a neighbouring country. Indeed, how much more stable the world would be today if the concern of the western press were to be directed against blatant actions of intervention and annexation where they *really* exist. South African troops hold Namibia under subjugation; Moroccan forces deny the Western Saharans their rightful independence; Tanzanian combatants remain in Uganda; Zionist forces occupy Palestine and other Arab lands; Iraq is in possession of Iranian territory; Egyptian military advisors hold power in the Sudan. These violations of the UN Charter do not, of course, earn much criticism in the western press; the culprits are all backed by western governments.

The thrust of western opinion, at least that of the press, is that Libya has no right to be concerned with African affairs and its own security, while the European powers and the United States have a right to act as an African police force to protest what is euphemistically known as 'their interests'. This, in reality, means supporting and maintaining any

regime which will permit western multinationals to exploit Third World resources and repatriate the profits.

To boost Western penetration of the African continent, western intelligence, supported by the media and western controlled news agencies, must convince African leaders that their countries (and in most cases their dictatorial regimes) are under threat. It is for this reason that Libya's very limited military aid to the Chadian government has been presented in terms of a major step towards 'a great Saharan empire'.

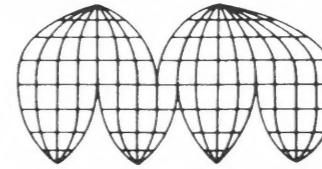
How much easier, if these distortions and lies are believed, it will be for western troops to establish bases in Africa and re-assert colonial control. How much more acceptable to western opinion will be the American military bases in Somalia and Kenya.

On 6th January, at the end of a visit to the Jamahiriya by the Chadian President, it was agreed in a joint communiqué 'to work to achieve full unity between the two countries. Not untypical of the western press reports was the *Daily Mirror* which told its readers on 8th January: 'Libya's Colonel Qadhafi yesterday stunned Western governments. He declared that Libya has annexed neighbouring Chad after a blitzkrieg air-and-ground attack launched just two months ago.' Again the western press had lapsed into a fantasy world, ignoring that the communiqué referred quite specifically to 'the freedom and independence of Chad and its people' which both parties respect. Why should 'unity' between two African states be so controversial; is there some sinister motive between the unity of ten European states in the EEC?

Finally, to consolidate the paranoia concerning Libya's relations with neighbouring Chad, claims are made that the Libyan Jamahiriya is acting a proxy role in Africa for the Soviet Union. Again, no evidence can be found to support this supposition, other than the fact that Libya's arms are purchased from the Soviets. On this criteria, it is to be argued that the purchaser of arms is always simply acting as a proxy for the supplier in a subsequent confrontation? The press, in asserting this Soviet connection, conveniently ignores that Libya also buys arms from Italy and France, and has been refused arms for the country's defence by Britain and the United States. The West should hardly be surprised, therefore, that Libya's forces are armed in part with Russian equipment. But this in no way weakens the Libyan Jamahiriya's firm and principled commitment to positive non-alignment.

The world must ask who is really a threat to Africa? Is it the Libyan Jamahiriya with its record of struggle against colonial rule and support for national liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere in the Third World, or the former colonial powers who have so energetically distorted the facts to re-assert a neo-colonial military presence on the African continent?

A monthly review of Libyan, Islamic and Third World affairs



**PANORAMA**  
news review

Of course this doesn't contradict with my basic mission....that is to end the Arab presence in the region.



Kissinger claims his mission was to end the Soviet presence in the Middle East

### Qadhafi calls for new role by US

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi has called on President Reagan to pursue foreign policies 'respecting the will of peoples and ending oppressive US intervention, both covert and overt, in the internal affairs of other countries,' the Jamahiriya Arab News Agency (JANA) reported in a 27th January broadcast.

In a letter to the new American President, Brother Qadhafi said the demise of Carter had underlined the failure of his administration's policies. He cited the Camp David agreement as the greatest single error of the Carter team. 'These accords,' said the Libyan leader, 'were the affirmation of the use of force by the victor against the vanquished.' He added: 'They further angered the entire Arab nation for squandering the rights of an oppressed people — the Palestinians.'

Brother Qadhafi also called on President Reagan to take action to secure for the American Red Indians their legitimate rights, saying he had received repeated calls for help in this matter from them.

The Libyan leader concluded with a call for good relations between the Libyan people and the

American people under the Reagan administration. 'The Libyan Arab people look forward to sound and equitable relations, based on mutual respect and interests,' he declared. 'My country looks forward to establishing such relations with your new administration in the United States.'

### Syrian Premier reaffirms unity commitment

SYRIAN PREMIER Dr Abdul Rauf al Kassam has strongly reaffirmed Syria's commitment to union with the Libyan Jamahiriya, and denied press reports that Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi called for the dissolution of the Syrian Ba'ath Party as a condition for the merger. The Syrian Prime Minister was speaking in an interview with the Lebanese magazine *As Sayyad*, the text of which was broadcast by Damascus radio on 14th January.

Dr al Kassam stressed Syria's deep commitment to total Arab unity. 'All of us in Syria believe in this unionist march,' he said, adding: 'Unity is the first component of the Ba'ath Party's motto (unity, liberty, socialism).' In December a joint Libyan-Syrian committee was set up to

draft a plan for the framework of the unitary state. Dr al Kassam, a member of the committee, declared that its establishment represented a first and important step on the road to unity, and that further important steps would undoubtedly follow. 'We and Libya want to establish a firmly entrenched unity that cannot be split by anything, and that can overcome all obstacles and impediments,' he declared.

Dr al Kassam strongly denied Lebanese press reports asserting that Brother Muammer Qadhafi had called for the dissolution of the Ba'ath Party in Syria in favour of people's congresses and direct democracy. 'Leader Qadhafi has never asked us to dissolve the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party,' he said. 'On the contrary, he emphasised that one of the reasons for the break-up of the union of Syria and Egypt in the days of the United Arab Republic was the Ba'ath Party's self-dissolution.'

### Thaw in Tunisian-Libyan relations

A CALL by Tunisian Premier Muhammad Mzali for reconciliation between Tunisia and the Libyan Jamahiriya has raised hopes that relations between the

two countries, which have been strained in the past year, might soon improve. Addressing the Tunisian parliament on 29th December, Mzali said: 'We are working to establish relations with Libya characterised by deep friendship and co-operation.' He added: 'We must forget past misunderstandings and think of our countries' future and interests,' and repeated an earlier invitation to Dr Ali Abdel Salam Treiki, then the Jamahiriya's Foreign Secretary, to visit Tunisia.

A commentary on Tripoli radio expressed the favourable reaction of the Libyan Jamahiriya: 'Muhammad Mzali's government recently called for the strengthening of ties of friendship and brotherhood, as well as for common action, between our two countries. The people will thoughtfully examine this call for a dialogue,' the commentary said. 'We hope that relations between our two countries will in future see a fruitful evolution for the good of the Libyan and Tunisian peoples.' These comments were carried by the Tunisian media and the Minister of Foreign Affairs said it 'opens the way for dialogue and understanding between the two countries.'

The Libyan attitude was underlined on 8th January when Mr Abdel Ati al Obeidi, Secretary of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, told a press conference that the

Jamahiriya welcomed the Tunisian Premier's call for a revival of bilateral relations and expressed Libya's willingness to consolidate co-operation and relations with Tunisia in order to deprive the colovist countries of the chance to drive a wedge between the two peoples.

On 22nd January Dr Treiki, in his new capacity as Foreign Affairs Liaison Secretary, held talks in Tunis with the Tunisian Premier. Among the issues discussed were ways of strengthening relations between their two countries, and the current situation in Africa. Dr Treiki also held talks, focussing on African affairs, with Arab League Secretary-General Mr Chedli Klibi.



Mr Arafat: Dangers of US plans

## Arafat rejects US attempts to divide Arab homeland

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi has declared that he expects no change in Washington's support for Zionism with the assumption by Ronald Reagan of the US Presidency. Speaking at the final session of the Arab People's Congress in Tripoli on 19th January, Brother Qadhafi said: 'President Reagan cannot shift America from supporting the Zionists to supporting the Arabs, or shift it from the right to the left because America will remain the way it is for generations unless a miracle happens, as happened in Tsarist Russia, Iran under the Shah or Libya under the Sanoussi royal family.'

On relations between the United States and the Libyan Jamahiriya, Brother Qadhafi said Washington knew that Libya was anti-imperialist and was in the forefront of the struggle to liberate Palestine. 'This is the secret of the enmity between Libya and America,' he declared. 'They also know that Libya wants to unify the Arab nation, and this will lead to the emergence of a third or fourth force in the world which will affect imperialist interests and put an end to the Zionist state of Israel, and which will have the right of veto in the UN Security Council,' continued the Libyan leader.

While the Libyan Jamahiriya was opposed to US interests, added Brother Qadhafi, it would be a grave mistake to assume that Libya was therefore a tool of the Soviet Union. 'Libya is neutral,' he declared, 'and will remain neutral and the Americans realise this. We do not have any Soviet bases and we are not agents of the Soviet Union.'

## Egypt prepares to strike against Jamahiriya

THE SADAT regime in Egypt may be contemplating an imminent military assault on the Libyan Jamahiriya, the London *Guardian* reported on 10th January. A major

establish itself.' This was a clear reference to the so-called 'Jordanian option' which purports to offer a solution to the Palestine problem through the linkage of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip with the Kingdom of Jordan. All the signs point to Ronald Reagan being intent on the pursuit of this arrangement, which would deny the Palestinians their right to independent statehood and leave a substantial Israeli military and civilian presence in those parts of Palestine occupied by the Zionists in 1967.

Jordan's King Hussein has publicly disassociated himself from this 'solution' to the Palestine problem. But there are fears in Palestinian circles that he might countenance a bilateral deal with the Zionists, under the umbrella of the United States. At the Beirut rally, the PFLP deputy Secretary-General, Abu Ali Mustapha, urged that the PLO sever its political ties with Jordan. The PLO, along with its allies in the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, Syria, the Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria and democratic Yemen, recently boycotted the summit conference staged in Amman.

at what he says because the Americans possess spy satellites and know what is going out of or into the Soviet Union,' he added.

The Libyan leader said the Arab People's Congress should be transformed into a revolutionary grouping in opposition to the Arab right wing, reaction, imperialism and those who work against Arab unity. He declared: 'The Arab People's Congress must adopt a programme for preparing the nation's counter-attack against all its enemies.'

motive, says the paper, would be to avert the Egyptian people's discontent at the parlous state of the economy, and at the failure of the Camp David agreement to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, by diverting attention to a military adventure.

Such a move 'might help extricate Egypt from the doldrums that have weighed upon it through 1980 and look like carrying over into this year since there appears to be little hope of substantial improvement in the economy and even less for progress on the issue of peace with Israel,' the paper said.

It is also thought that Sadat would be given the green light from Washington for an attack on the Jamahiriya. In the spring of 1979 Egypt moved large military forces to the Libyan border region and it was widely felt that war was a distinct possibility.

On that occasion, however, President Carter reportedly intervened personally with Sadat to prevent him launching an attack. 'Cairo needed approval from Washington, but it was not forthcoming,' said the *Guardian*, but added that President Reagan might feel differently about things.

In July 1977 Sadat ordered his forces to attack Libya and the ensuing border war was ended only by stiff Libyan resistance and the intervention of the late Algerian President, Mr Houari Boumedienne, who warned Egypt that the Algerian army would enter on the side of the Jamahiriya unless Sadat ordered his troops back forthwith. In June 1979 Mr Boumedienne's successor, President Chadli, reaffirmed to Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi that any attack on either of their countries would be considered as an attack on the other. Meanwhile, Qadhafi has consistently and repeatedly declared that Libyan Arab forces will not launch any confrontation with their Arab brothers in Egypt.

## Twenty-two new people's bureaux formed

IN RECENT weeks twenty-two Libyan embassies have been transformed into people's bureaux as part of the Jamahiriya's policy of dealing with foreign peoples on a direct face-to-face basis, without traditional intermediaries such as ambassadors. The call for the creation of people's bureaux was first made by Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi in September 1979 but the process has accelerated markedly since his speech on last year's anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution, urging a stepping up of the transformation of the embassies. People's bureaux are run by people's committees of ordinary Libyans, and not by professional diplomats.

In Europe, Libyans recently took direct control of their former embassies in Denmark, Sweden, Portugal and Hungary. In Asia, people's bureaux were created in Iran, the Philippines, Japan, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, China and the Soviet Union. Ten were established in Africa — in Benin, the Seychelles, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Ethiopia, Upper Volta and Mali. A people's bureau was created in the Venezuelan capital, Caracas, in December.

In four western-dominated African states, Niger, Nigeria, Upper Volta and Mali, the new people's bureaux were short-lived. Pressure from imperialist powers led to the expulsion of the people's committees on the pretext that their members did not have diplomatic status.

## Libya prepared to destroy oil wells in self-defence

MR AHMAD Shahati, former head of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, told a Madrid press conference on 26th December that Libya would be prepared to destroy its oil wells to defend itself. He said oil was a source of wealth belonging to all humanity, but should first be used in the national interest. 'However, to defend ourselves and our honour we would be willing to destroy all our wells and return to an economy based on agriculture,' he said.

Speaking after a meeting with Spanish Foreign Minister José Pedro Pérez-Llorca, Brother Shahati, who was on a European tour, said there were countries that used Arab oil while supporting the Zionist usurpation of Palestine. The Libyan Jamahiriya, he said, had decided to combat this situation.

The European tour was the last of Brother Shahati's engagements as chairman of the Foreign Liaison Bureau. At the General People's Congress in January, he resigned his post on health grounds. The Bureau was restructured and brought into the General Popular Committee with Mr Abdel Ati al Obeidi as its Secretary.

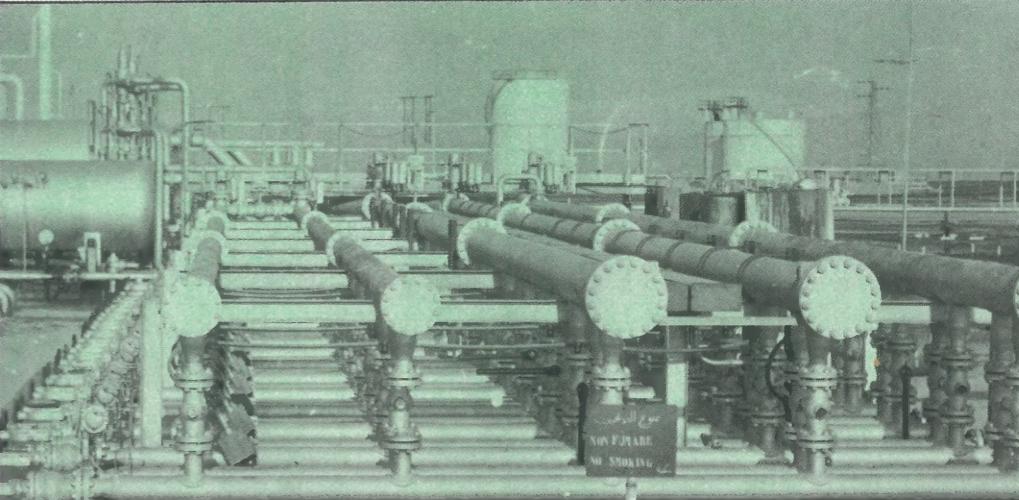
## Tripoli to host book fair

AN INTERNATIONAL book exhibition is to be held in the Libyan Jamahiriya from 18th-23rd April this year. It will be the first of its kind to be held in Libya, according to the National Organisation for Publications, Distribution and Advertisements.

## Baghdad regime represses Kurds

THE IRAQI regime has launched a campaign of fierce repression against leaders of the Kurdish people in northern Iraq, according to Kurdish sources in London. The Times reported on 19th January that a spokesman for the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq had said 19 Kurds had been executed in Mosul prison in the previous month and a further 61 were under sentence of death. Among those executed are a former Secretary-General of the party.

Large number of Iraqi Kurds went into exile after the defeat in 1975 of the Kurdish rebellion, which had been launched in a bid to secure independence for the



Oil does not come before national honour, says Ahmad Shahati

Kurdish people from the Baghdad authorities. The revolt was crushed following an agreement between the Iraqi regime and the former Shah of Iran. Many of the exiles have since returned under an amnesty, but are now being forced to fight in the Iraqi army against Iran. Those who refuse are imprisoned or executed.

## Qadhafi voted Muslim of the year

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi has been voted Muslim of the Year by the London-based Young Men's Muslim Association. Their 1980 Certificate of Excellence went to Brother Qadhafi for his 'great services and noble contribution to the promotion of Islam and its ideals.'

Dr Zaki Badawi, director of London's Islamic Centre, presented the award at a ceremony in December to Mabrouk al Gaid, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in London, who accepted on behalf of Muammer Qadhafi.

## Iraqis seek Zionist aid in war on Iran

ISRAEL'S DEFENCE Ministry has rejected a request that ships carrying arms and supplies for Iraq, and unloading at the Jordanian port of Aqaba, should be serviced at the nearby Israeli port of Eilat. Zionist radio reported on 24th December. The request for the ships to take on lubrication oils and other items at the Israeli port was made to the Zionist Paz fuel company through an unnamed agent in London, and probably originated with the Baghdad regime, which has been forced on to the defensive in its war on Iran.

Facilities at the Jordanian port are insufficient to handle the vast supplies which Iraq needs to replace arms destroyed by Iran.

## Zionists recognise bantustans

THE SOUTH African bantustan of Venda has been promised diplomatic recognition by the Zionist state of Israel, Johannesburg radio reported on 30th December. The announcement was made by the puppet President Patrick Mphephu of Venda, who had just returned from a visit to Israel, during which he had explored the possibilities for expanding trade between his bantustan and the Zionists. There was scope for Venda to export wood, furniture and red meat to Israel, he said. It was the second trip to Israel in recent weeks by the President of a bantustan. Mphephu had been preceded by the President of Bophuthatswana. Bantustans are the South African controlled black 'homelands' which the racist regime seeks to pass off as independent states, as part of their apartheid policies.

## South Korea upgrades link with Jamahiriya

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and South Korea have established full diplomatic relations and will shortly exchange ambassadors, the Foreign Ministry in Seoul announced on 5th January. The two countries opened relations at consular level in 1978 and there has since been an enormous expansion of trade between them. Last year South Korean construction firms won contracts in Libya valued at \$1,150 million. Commodity exports from South Korea in 1980 totalled \$180 million, nearly five times more than in 1979. There are currently about 3,500 South Koreans working in the Jamahiriya. The establishment of full relations took effect on 29th December.

# Libyan Congress backs programme for peace and economic progress

**HOUSING, EDUCATION and incomes were amongst the important domestic issues under review at the recent meeting of the Jamahiriya's General People's Congress in Tripoli. Also considered were Libya's relations with Egypt and Chad, two of the Jamahiriya's neighbouring states.**



BOTH DOMESTIC and major foreign policy issues came under review when the Libyan Jamahiriya's General People's Congress convened in Tripoli during early January. During the four day meeting, which opened on 3rd January, the Congress rejected any confrontation with the Egyptian people, while the offshore oil exploration dispute with Malta was referred to the International Court, and the recently concluded treaty with neighbouring Chad received strong backing from the Libyan people.

On the domestic level, sweeping changes were approved in respect of housing policy, military training and education, and wages and incomes.

Under the Jamahiriya's system of direct democracy, all the issues on the agenda of the General People's Congress had already been the subject of discussions at the level of the Basic People's Congresses, which exist in all communities throughout the country. It is the duty of those attending the General People's Congress to relay the views and opinions reached by the Basic Congresses, thereby giving every Libyan citizen a meaningful voice in determining the Jamahiriya's policies and political programme. The agenda of the General Congress is a reflection of the issues which concern Libyan citizens, and which have been raised and discussed at the local level.

The General People's Congress, rather than being a forum of representatives as in western style political systems, is the voice expressing the views of all Libyan citizens.

Of paramount concern to all Libyans is the continuing threat to the Jamahiriya from the Sadat regime in neighbouring Egypt, which has mobilised tens of thousands of troops along the border with Libya in preparation for an aggression

transform the Foreign Secretariat went through. It was also agreed that Libyan foreign policy, including policy on oil sales and prices, will henceforth be determined by other countries' attitudes to the Jamahiriya.

The Jamahiriya's long-standing support for liberation movements was reaffirmed in a resolution which called for the principle that 'the support of liberation movements is a matter of principle which is irrevocable, and cannot be relinquished' to be enacted as law.

The hostility directed against Libya in the western media led the General People's Congress to accept the need to give high priority to strengthening the Jamahiriya's information services abroad, 'in order to project in the best possible way the Jamahiriya's positions in the Arab, Muslim, African and international spheres'. In discussing foreign information activity, the Secretary-General of the General People's Congress said information was a crucially important weapon for the defence of the Libyan people and their achievements.

Dealing with internal matters, the General People's Congress accepted a resolution to promulgate a law 'organising the function of the people's committees in all fields, aiming at co-ordinating and defining their responsibilities and their duties in relation to other committees and departments'.

Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi recently expressed his concern at the disparities in wages in the Jamahiriya, and the General People's Congress specified the outlines of a new wages and incomes policy. A wages schedule will be applied in all places of work based on the principle of equal pay for equal work and responsibilities, linking of pay, allowances and promotion to productivity and preferential treatment for productive work.

To encourage the Jamahiriya's economic development, the General People's Congress agreed to implement a system of selective import controls to ensure the availability of essential commodities and to protect domestic production from foreign competition. Tariffs will be imposed on imports on the basis of 'the need for the particular commodities, their usefulness and direct role in the productive process.'

A new housing policy was formulated, intended to provide free housing for those unable to pay rent. Housing will be built as an integral part of public projects and there will be emphasis on the construction of new towns. Also approved was the establishment of a housing savings and investment bank to lend money to the citizens and companies operating in the housing field.

Support was also expressed for ratifying the treaty of friendship with Chad concluded in January this year at the end of Chad's 14 year liberation struggle. The treaty calls for unity between the peoples of the two countries.

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# The Jamahiriya's new administration

THE GENERAL People's Congress, meeting in Tripoli from 3rd-7th January 1981, saw a number of significant changes in the Secretariats which are charged with executing the policies approved. One important feature was the creation of three new secretariats, for Foreign Liaison, Liaison for Internal Affairs and Atomic Energy.

**Atomic Energy Secretariat:** Secretary of this newly-created Secretariat is Engineer Abd al Majid al Qu'ud, who moves from his former post as Secretary for Liaison in the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress. The Atomic Energy Secretariat was proposed by the General People's Congress to 'keep abreast with scientific and technical developments' in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Secretariat's main concerns will be to further the work of the experimental nuclear station already built at Tajuna, near Tripoli, and to pursue current negotiations for Soviet assistance for the construction of a nuclear power station at the coastal town of Sirte.

**Foreign Liaison Secretariat:** The Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, with Ahmad Shahati as its Chairman, was formerly not an integral part of the General Popular Committee. It was responsible for arranging direct contacts between the Libyan and foreign peoples, by-passing traditional official intermediaries, such as ambassadors. The Bureau has now been reconstituted and brought into the General Popular Committee, with Abdel Ati al Obaidi as its Secretary. Mr Obaidi was previously Secretary-General of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress. As well as having continued responsibility for direct contacts between the Libyan and foreign peoples, the Foreign Liaison Secretariat holds responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of all the people's committees formed outside the Jamahiriya.

**Secretariat for Liaison for Foreign Affairs:** On 10th January the Libyan people took over the former Foreign Secretariat on the grounds that the conduct of foreign relations through official channels had become anachronistic in the light of the transformation of the Jamahiriya's former embassies abroad into people's bureaux, created to further Libya's policy of direct people-to-people contact. However, the Libyan Jamahiriya, conducting an active and non-aligned foreign policy, cannot avoid continuing contact with traditional governments and their foreign ministers. Many countries insist that their dealings with others shall be exclusively through their foreign ministries. The Jamahiriya opposes this, but cannot refuse to talk to countries with such views. Dr Abdel Salam al Treiki, formerly Foreign Secretary, now Secre-

tary for Liaison for Foreign Affairs, retains responsibility for relations between the Libyan Jamahiriya and official circles in foreign countries.

**Treasury Secretariat:** Coming in as new Treasury Secretary is Qasim Sharlahal who was formerly Governor of the Central Bank. He replaces Muhammad az Zarruq Rajab, who is the new Secretary General of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress.

**Secretariat for Liaison for Internal Affairs:** Secretary of this newly-created Secretariat, charged with co-ordinating the affairs of the people's congresses and people's committees within the Jamahiriya, is Muftah al Osta Omar, formerly Health Secretary. His previous post is filled by Murad Ali Lanqi.

**Municipalities Secretariat:** Moving from his former post as Information Secretary, Muhammad Mahmud Hejazi, becomes the new Municipalities Secretary, replacing Muhammad Dweik. The Jamahiriya no

longer has an Information Secretariat following last October's implementation of the earlier proposal by Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi that if the media were truly to reflect the views of the Al Fateh Revolution then they must be controlled by the revolutionary committees.

**Justice Secretariat:** The General People's Congress accepted the resignation, on health grounds, of Muhammad Ali al Jadi as Justice Secretary. The new Secretary is Muhammad Abu al Qasim az Zuwayy, who moves from his former post as Assistant to the Secretary-General of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress. Mr al Jadi was confirmed by the General People's Congress as Head of the Supreme Court.

**Central Bank Appointments:** The General People's Congress decided to appoint Rajab al Misallati as Governor of the Central Bank of Libya and Salim Mas'ud Juwaili as Deputy Governor.

## General People's Committee of SPLAJ

Leader of the Revolution

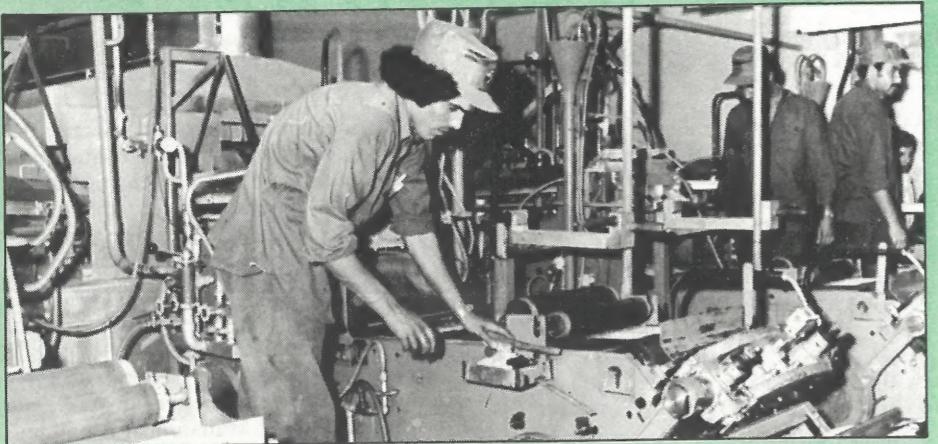
Muammer Qadhafi

### Secretariat of the General People's Congress

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| Secretary-General  | Muhammad az Zarruq Rajab |
| Assistant Secretary-General  | Ali Bilkhair             |
| Secretary for Basic People's Congresses                                  | Muhammad Ali Ba'wash     |
| Affairs  | Abdullah Zahmul          |
| Secretary for People's Committees  | Mukhtar Qarba            |
| Affairs  |                          |
| Secretary for Unions, Trades Union and Professional Associations Affairs |                          |

### General Popular Committee

|                              |                                 |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Secretary-General            | Jadallah Azzuz at Talhi         |
| Secretaries                  | Abdel-Ati al Obaidi             |
| Foreign Liaison              | Muhammad Abu al Qasim az Zuwayy |
| Justice                      | Abd al Majid al Qu'ud           |
| Atomic Energy                | Muftah al-Osta Omar             |
| Liaison for Internal Affairs | Muhammad al Manquush            |
| Housing                      | Amr Ahmad al Maqsi              |
| Light Industry               | Jum'ah al Arbash                |
| Electricity                  | Abu Zayd Umar Durdah            |
| Economy                      | Muftah Ku'aybah                 |
| Sport                        | Abdel Salam al Treiki           |
| Liaison for Foreign Affairs  | Musa Abu Freiwa                 |
| Planning                     | Bashir Jawdah                   |
| Agrarian and Land Reform     | Omar al Muntassir               |
| Heavy Industry               | Muhammad Abdullah al Mabruk     |
| Civil Service                | Ibrahim al Faqi Hasan           |
| Social Security              | Abd al Hafiz az Zulaytini       |
| Education                    | Abd as Salam az Zaq'ar          |
| Oil                          | Muhammad Mahmud Hijazi          |
| Municipalities               | al Bukhari Salim Hudah          |
| Telecommunications and       | Murad Ali Lanqi                 |
| Marine Transport             | Qasim Sharlahal                 |
| Health                       |                                 |
| Treasury                     |                                 |



An industrial base for the modern Jamahiriya

## Entering the industrial age: the new face of the Jamahiriya

**BY THE middle of the 1980s the Libyan Jamahiriya looks set to have tipped the scales of its economy, with the non-oil sector contributing over half of the national income. This is the visionary target of the Jamahiriya's new five-year development programme accepted by the recent General People's Congress. Dr Alan George examines the details.**

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's new development programme for the 1981-85 period will absorb a massive expenditure of LD 18,500 million (\$62,478.9 million), according to details unveiled at the Tripoli meeting of the General People's Congress in early January. The fact that the budget allocations are more than twice the expenditures for the previous five year plan underlines the determination in modern revolutionary Libya with which the urgent tasks of development are now being tackled.

And the new plan has another characteristic which distinguishes it from earlier programmes. The current plan is the product of months of discussions at grass roots level in the basic people's congresses, where new schemes have been proposed and the whole programme subjected to detailed public scrutiny prior to the approval which it received in Tripoli. The new plan, which projects an annual average economic growth rate of 9.4 per cent, is intended to consolidate the trend towards diversification of the economy, and reduce the dependence of the Jamahiriya's economy on the oil sector. Great

Under the new plan agricultural development will be concentrated in the coastal regions, to allow a projected growth rate at an average of 7.4 per cent per annum. Agricultural development and the parallel growth of food processing industries is expected to lead to substantial steps towards the Jamahiriya's independence from overseas food supplies. By 1985 it is expected that food imports will drop from 46.5 per cent to 38 per cent of domestic consumption. It is expected that Libya will be importing 65 per cent of its manufactured food requirements by the middle of the decade, a decrease from the current 73 per cent.

The new plan provides for major development of the Jamahiriya's transport and communications facilities. The telephone network is to be expanded to provide six telephones per 100 people. The annual capacity of Libyan ports is to rise from 7 million tonnes to 16 million tonnes, and the number of Libyan-owned ships should have increased by 36. By 1985, about 60 per cent of all imports will be carried by Libyan ships. The Jamahiriya's road network is to expand at an average annual rate of 7.4 per cent, with a total of 1,500 kilometres of roads to be built at a cost of LD 1,300 million (\$4,390.4 million).

In the housing sector, the new plan envisages the construction of 146,000 apartments, in addition to the completion of 60,000 currently under construction. Of the new apartments, 65,000 will be operated by co-operatives, 44,000 by the Housing Secretariat and 37,000 by foreign companies. The housing sector's average annual growth rate is targeted at 7.1 per cent.

Education is another major field for development, with plans to construct some 16,800 classrooms during the period. An 8 per cent annual growth rate is forecast. There will be a new emphasis on the teaching of technical subjects, with these to be taught side by side with academic subjects in the same schools.

The planned annual growth rates of other sectors are: electricity, 15.1 per cent; health, 10 per cent; public services, 5 per cent, and construction, 1.5 per cent.

The 1981-85 socio-economic development plan underlines the Jamahiriya's continuing commitment to the transformation of Libya from a country overwhelmingly dependent on the exploitation of crude oil for export into one boasting an integrated economy with developed industrial and agricultural sectors. No one is more aware than Libya's planners that the oil will not last forever and the new plan marks an important new milestone on the road to the economic integration that alone provides the key to self-sustained economic expansion. At the same time, the plan highlights the consistent emphasis placed by the Al Fateh Revolution on the social wellbeing of the Libyan people, and on their need to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to run their economy without the help of foreign experts.

AN AGREEMENT between Libya and Chad 'to work to achieve full unity between the two countries' came at the end of President Oueddei's visit to the Jamahiriya, during which he paid tribute to Libya's assistance in helping to quell the insurgent rebel forces of Hissan Habre which were attempting to overthrow the Oueddei government. During December President Oueddei invited Libyan forces into his country to help put down the uprising.

In Tripoli the uprising was being viewed with concern following evidence that the Sadat regime was actively engaged in supporting the rebel Habre forces. With tens of thousands of Egyptian forces mobilised along the Jamahiriya's eastern border, Sadat was clearly planning to open a southern flank along Libya's border as a prelude to his invasion plan.

Addressing the Arab People's Congress in Tripoli in late January, Muammer Qadhafi accused Sadat and France of being behind the Habre rebellion. The Libyan leader also refuted claims that Libya had annexed Chad. The unity referred to in the joint communiqué was 'not a political unity as constitutionally known', Qadhafi said, but a unity of the people; frontiers between the two countries would be opened to achieve freedom of movement and interaction of the masses.

This point was also emphasised by the Chadian Foreign Minister, Ahmat Aycl, on 22nd January. 'There was no political unity between Libya and Chad; all that has been agreed recently is a merger between the two peoples involving freedom of movement and residence without obstacles.' The Chadian official also pointed out that involvement of Libyan troops in Chad had been made at the invitation of his government.

Libyan officials have also refuted charges that the Jamahiriya plans further intervention in central African states, and denied that its role in Chad was towards this end.

In mid-January two senior Libyan foreign affairs officials — Abd al-Ati Obeidi and Abd al-Salam Treiki — began a tour of African states to clarify the Libyan position. According to the Beirut



## Libya and Chad recognise unity of interests

**OPEN BORDERS and freedom of movement between the Libyan Jamahiriya and Chad have been agreed following a Tripoli meeting between the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi and Chadian President Coukouni Oueddei in early January. However, western intelligence claims of a political merger between the two countries have been strongly discounted in a series of statements from Libyan and Chad officials.**

daily *As-Safir* on 14th January, the aim was to assure African states that Libya's action in Chad was in no way directed against them; that French military involvement in several African states is aimed at curbing their own independence, and that the Libyan-Chad union project is designed to enhance regional co-operation in development and other fields, while assur-

### Qadhafi warns France

Qadhafi continued, 'America, which is situated on the other half of the globe, is also regarding Chad's security as relating to its own security. So how could Libya not regard Chad's security as related to its own?'

On 12th January it was reported that three plane loads of French troops had flown to Bengui in the Central African Republic. The Guardian said 'France now has about 8,000 soldiers based in West and Central Africa, with the biggest contingents, apart from the CAR, in Senegal, Gabon and the Ivory Coast. Another 4,000 are based in the East African enclave of Djibouti.'

France also has a number of advisors working with the Zaire army, supporting the corrupt regime of President Mobuto.

An earlier Guardian report from Paris on 10th January said: 'Details of a special meeting with military chiefs and senior diplomats were released here yesterday, in which the President is said to have approved offers to reinforce the French presence in the Ivory Coast, Senegal, the Central African Republic and Gabon, while seeking agreements to station troops in sensitive areas, like Niger and Cameroon.'

France also has a number of advisors working with the Zaire army, supporting the corrupt regime of President Mobuto.

RECENT PRONOUNCEMENTS by the incoming Reagan administration's Defence Secretary, Caspar Weinberger, have underlined the dangers that the next four years will hold for the independence of the Arab homeland. It is now clear that the Reagan team is blinkered by an obsession with confronting 'the Soviet threat', wherever they perceive this to be, despite the strong evidence that it is little more than a figment of their imagination, particularly so far as the Arab homeland is concerned.

Most worrying is the emphasis placed by Reagan and his colleagues on American military might as the lynchpin of their measures to check what they term 'Soviet expansionism'. Reagan sees the so-called 'Soviet menace' as a real threat, justifying an increased military presence in the Arab homeland. But it is clear that such US forces will be more useful to Washington to protect its economic interests in the region — which are usually contrary to those of the Arab people — than in confronting any Soviet 'threat'.

Under Carter, the Arab nation witnessed the military alliance between the Zionists and the Sadat regime, the establishment of US military bases in Egypt, Somalia and Oman, and the rapid expansion of the massive US base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia. Carter also inaugurated the Rapid Deployment Force, a half-million strong force designed to intervene anywhere in the Arab homeland at short notice. US involvement was also mirrored in the despatch of AWACS spy planes to Saudi Arabia, allegedly to monitor the progress of the Iraq-Iran war, on behalf of the Saudi rulers and the Pentagon. Military sources said that the planes were also assisting the Iraqi aggression against the Iranian Revolution by providing vital information about Iranian positions and strengths to the Iraqi armed forces.

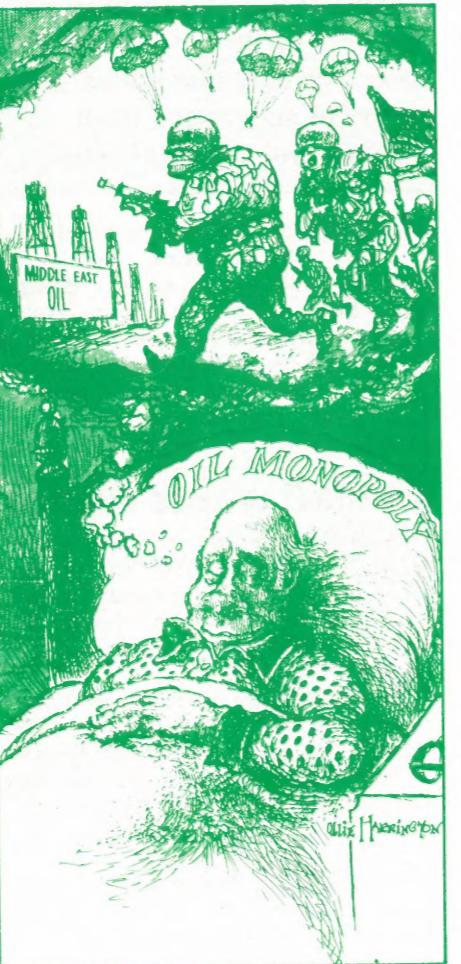
It has become clear that the pace of US military penetration of the Arab homeland is to be stepped up under Reagan. Secretary Weinberger, speaking to a correspondent for the Israeli armed forces radio station, said the US would continue to give priority to Israel in its economic and military aid programmes and would spare no effort in confronting 'the Soviet bloc', in particular through bolstering its military presence in Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia. Israel comes first for the US, and Saudi Arabia is a useful second line of defence for US and Zionist interests.

The specific mention of Saudi Arabia as a base for US forces is a new departure. The Saudi ruling family depends for its survival on US military backing, but it takes great pains to pretend that its relations with the US are between equal sovereign states. It has so far been reluctant to allow a massive American military presence in the country for fear of the anger this would provoke within the kingdom and in the Arab homeland as a whole.

The projected despatch of US troops to Saudi Arabia aired by Weinberger is

## Washington's great lie about the Middle East

**WITH THE American hostages now released from Iran, the United States looks set to step up its penetration of the Arab homeland in the Gulf region. A special correspondent looks at some of the American claims which are being made to prepare public opinion, and to justify a more assertive US policy in the Middle East. However, Washington's claims are not supported by many authoritative sources in Western Europe.**



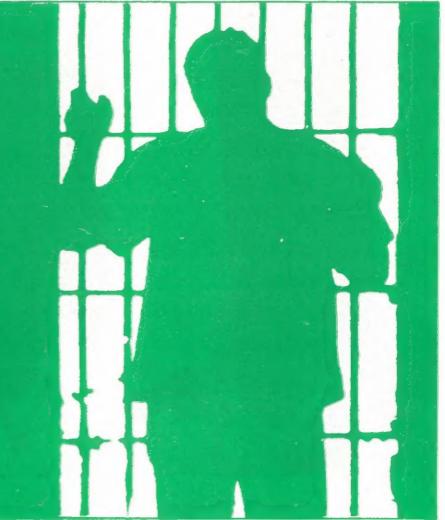
premised on the assumption that the kingdom's oilfields, on which the west depends, are threatened by the Soviet Union. Two recent developments illustrate just how wrong the American interpretation of Soviet policy in the Arabian Gulf area in fact is. Confirming estimates by the Swedish Petroleum Studies Institute and Lloyds International, the British Economist Intelligence Unit — which is certainly not a pro-Soviet organisation — has published a detailed report demolishing the suggestion that the Soviet Union will be a net importer of oil by 1985. The report shows that the USSR will still be exporting some 2.3 million barrels per day in 1990. This runs directly counter to arguments put forward by others, including the US Central Intelligence Agency, that the Soviet Union will be in need of Arab oil by the middle of the next decade, and would therefore be prepared to use force to get it.

The other development was Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's proposal for a security plan for the Gulf. This entails the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, Japan and China pledging not to use or threaten force against the countries of the region, not to draw them into military alliances with states having nuclear arms, not to pose threats to the Gulf sea lanes, and to respect the independence of the Gulf states and their sovereign rights over their natural resources. The United States rejected the proposal out of hand. It is extremely unlikely that the Soviet Union would have come forward with such a plan if it were harbouring aggressive designs on Arab oil.

It is significant that Saudi Arabia also rejected Brezhnev's proposals for Gulf security. The Saudi rulers, together with some Arab Gulf states, incline to the view that regional security is best preserved by a Saudi-dominated defence pact between the local states. But the combined strength of the armies of the Gulf states, excluding the warring Iraq and Iran, is only 106,000 men, and it is clear that such a local military grouping is envisaged as merely a complement to the American forces which, it seems, the Saudis are happy to see drafted into the region in ever-increasing numbers.

The real threat posed by the Reagan presidency is not to the Soviet Union, but to the Third World, including the Arab homeland. It was announced in January that Weinberger's assistant at the Defense Department will be Frank Carlucci, a former US ambassador to Portugal and later assistant director of the CIA. As Ambassador in Lisbon, Carlucci coordinated the US covert action against the progressive elements in the Armed Forces Movement which overthrew the dictatorship of Marcello Caetano in 1974. The appointment to the Defense Department of a man whose principle experience lies not in military matters, but in secret interference in the internal affairs of other countries is a pointer to the future intentions of Washington towards the Third World and the Arab homeland

IN 1968 David Dellinger was prominent amongst America's anti-Vietnam war campaigners, and was arrested as one of the 'Chicago Seven' during the Democratic Party convention in Chicago. Twelve years on, this American progressive talks to Dan La Botz about the anti-imperialist struggle of the Palestinian people following his recent visit to the Middle East.



## Dellinger calls for justice and peace in the Middle East

civilians on the grounds that they are so-called "terrorists", said Dellinger.

South Lebanon reminded me of a 1936-37 visit to Nazi Germany where I had connections to the anti-Nazi underground. That was the times of the Kristallnacht, when the Nazis broke the windows in Jewish stores and homes. I saw the same thing now in Ramallah and Bireh where hundreds of Arab shop windows had been smashed by ravaging Israeli settlers.

Dellinger said that there's 'collective punishment for Arabs.' If rocks or bottles are thrown at Israeli police, they don't merely arrest the suspect, according to Dellinger, but they go to the home of the suspect and beat the boy's father or sometimes bulldoze the house.

According to Dellinger the Palestinians are suffering some of the worst abuses today in southern Lebanon, on the Left Bank of the Jordan, and in Israel. And Dellinger believes that Americans have been given little opportunity by the stereotyping of the press to come to an accurate understanding of the issues.

'South Lebanon,' said Dellinger,

'reminded me of trips I made in the mid-

1960s to Vietnam.'

At that time, he explained, while the claim was made that only military targets were being bombed,

in fact large scale bombing of civilian facilities was taking place in order to

demoralise the Viet Cong.

'To my horror I found a similar situation in south Lebanon. The Israelis are systematically and intentionally bombing schools, churches, mosques and attacking

Among the trends in Israel is the Peace Now movement, though Dellinger cautioned that 'Peace Now is very heterogenous and includes a very racist right wing. They have done some good things, but they have almost nothing to say about oppression of Arabs within Israel.'

Another optimistic sign for Dellinger is the organisation in this country of dialogues between Jews and Arabs, drawing people out of the anti-war and anti-nuclear movements. These dialogues have given rise to a new organisation, Coalition for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, which calls upon the US to replace the Camp David process with a new process which includes all parties, particularly the Palestinians, and which would recognise the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Dellinger sees the understanding of the roles of the US and Israel as crucial to resolution of the mid-East problem. He told the story of an Arab man in southern Lebanon who, deranged by grief, hung around the ruins of his home where his wife and children had been killed. 'Tell the Americans they killed my wife and children', the grief-stricken man said. Though the Israelis flew the planes that dropped the bomb, the US made them and politically supported them, said Dellinger.

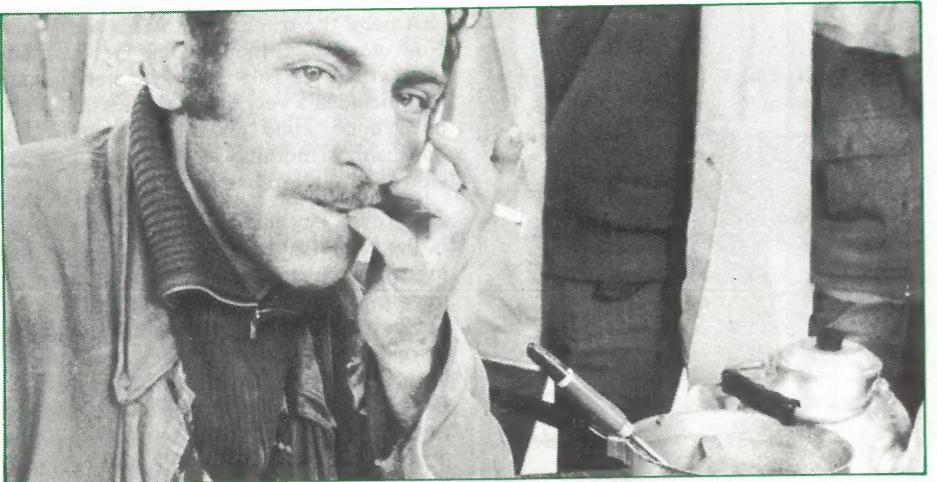
'The US uses Israel to do what it wants done, but doesn't feel safe doing,' said Dellinger. He pointed to Israel's role as a supporter of the fascist dictatorship in Chile, of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, of the Shah of Iran and of Somoza in Nicaragua.

Dellinger recognises that the question of Israel, so inextricably involved in the history of Jewish persecution, isn't an easy one.

'The people of the United States feel guilty about the whole history of the Jewish persecution and the holocaust,' said Dellinger. 'The US drove away the Jews who sought refuge here and as a result we feel horror and guilt. That makes it hard to face up to the nature of Israel today. But there are only so many crimes you can commit because we're one of the persecuted people,' said Dellinger.

For a peace activist like Dellinger, the election of Reagan, a man known to stand for a militant posture for the US government, is obviously somewhat disturbing. But, Dellinger said, 'in the absence of a strong justice movement, a strong civil rights movement and a strong peace movement, the government takes its cues from the corporation.' To keep that from happening it will be necessary to organise 'public awareness and pressure'.

That is what Dellinger is about, educating and organising, propagandist for peace, agitator for justice, as he has been since he organised resistance to the Nazis in the 30s, the resistance to the US in Vietnam in the 60s and 70s, and as he today organises resistance to the US and Israel in the Middle East.



Arab worker in France: facing racist threats

## Immigrant communities in France under attack

**SOME FIFTY immigrants in France, mostly Arabs from Algeria, have been killed in racist assaults during the past decade, and hundreds more have been seriously injured. And as immigrant communities attempt to defend themselves so they face increasing brutality and discrimination from the French police, while government policy has aggravated the immigrants' plight.**

WHEN FASCISTS exploded a bomb outside a Paris synagogue on 3rd October, killing four people, the western media was naturally unanimous in its condemnation of the incident and of other signs of growing anti-semitism in France. Much less publicity has been accorded the disturbing history of attacks by French rightists on the country's large community of immigrant workers, most of them from north Africa. In the ten years between 1970 and 1979 some 50 immigrants — mostly Algerians — were killed and hundreds wounded in racist assaults.

Racial tension reached a new pitch on Christmas Eve, when a mob of 50 townspeople in the Paris suburb of Vitry-sur-Seine attacked a hostel housing 320 black Africans from Mali. They cut telephone lines, sawed off water pipes, tore heaters off the walls and ripped the wiring out of fuse boxes. One of the attackers rammed a bulldozer into the hostel's iron railings and after demolishing a stone staircase and a wall, scooped the rubble into huge mounds blocking the building's entrances. France has about four million immi-

grants in a total population of 53 million. Most were attracted in the boom years of economic expansion in the 1960s and early 1970s and have made a major contribution to French economic growth. Interior Ministry statistics show there are 1,365,000 north African workers in France, almost all from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, 866,000 Portuguese, 483,000 Italians, 45,000 Spaniards, 92,000 Turks, 70,000 Yugoslavs, 70,000 Poles and about 50,000 Africans, mainly from Senegal and Mali.

The economic recession in France, with soaring inflation and unemployment, is undoubtedly a major cause of the wave of racism sweeping the country. The French see in the readily identifiable immigrant community a convenient scapegoat for the country's economic misfortunes. A favourite argument is that the foreigners are 'taking the jobs of white Frenchmen', although at the same time the immigrants are accused of receiving disproportionate social security benefits, including unemployment payments. It is a familiar line of argument amongst racists everywhere. In Britain fascist groups like the National Front and the British Movement employ the same vitriol to attack black Britons. The argument was given the lie by recently released statistics that show that only one job in three left vacant by an immigrant was filled by a French national.

The extent of racism in France is underlined by the mushrooming of so-called 'defence associations' throughout the country. They act as vociferous anti-immigrant lobbies, circulating petitions calling for tighter restrictions against north Africans. The foci of their activities have been protests at the construction of mosques and at the settling of families from the Maghreb in particular cities or villages.

The immigrant community in France understandably views the future with the greatest apprehension. For many who came in the 1960s there is the added complication that they have severed their formal links with their countries of origin. When France was desperate for a cheap labour force, the government offered French nationality to attract foreign workers, promising that they would live as equals with native Frenchmen, enjoying all the benefits of life in a modern industrial state. Many took up the nationality offer, only to find themselves captive in a society marked by its prejudice, and racist bigotry.

police sweeping powers to detain and expel illegal or 'undesirable' immigrants. Measures directed against the immigrant community have since been tightened. Georges Bouloud, an official in charge of race relations at the town hall of Grenoble in south east France, has pointed out: 'The recent measures taken by the government to limit the entry of immigrant workers or to encourage them to return voluntarily to their countries have had the effect of dynamite since they strengthen French people in their racist attitudes.'

Racial prejudice can also be detected in police harassment of immigrants. A young man of Moroccan origin was recently shot dead by a riot policeman in Marseilles during an identity check. A few minutes before, the policeman reportedly told 17-year-old Houari Ben Muhammad and his friend that they had better be careful because he was 'trigger-happy'. The dead man's mother said that after the shooting, a group of policemen patrolling the ghetto where she lives had deliberately taunted its inhabitants. She added that she had been sent several anonymous letters, one of which said: 'Go home dirty north African. We don't want lazy people here any more.'

'REPRESENTATION IS fraud' is probably one of the best-known of the key slogans taken from the *Green Book* of Libyan Revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi. It embodies the well-known opposition to traditional democratic institutions especially parliamentary institutions. The *Green Book* instead proposes a far-reaching system of direct democracy, open to all citizens, in which those exercising authority are under the control of the whole of the people.

Representative democracies of the western variety are indeed based on fraud. In the West, politics is too often left to the professional politicians, and many people are too apathetic, cynical, or disillusioned, to make any real attempt to participate in controlling their own lives. Many people believe that they vote in elections to elect governments. In fact, all popularly elected assemblies in the West exist not to govern, but to provide a check on government — as constitutional experts admit in learned books which ordinary people never read.

Government authority in traditional democracies represents not the wishes of the people, but the power of the traditional ruling groups in society. In Britain, this is brazenly declared to be the case; the British Government is 'Her Majesty's Government' — administration is carried out in the name of the Crown, not the people. Civil Servants are Crown employees.

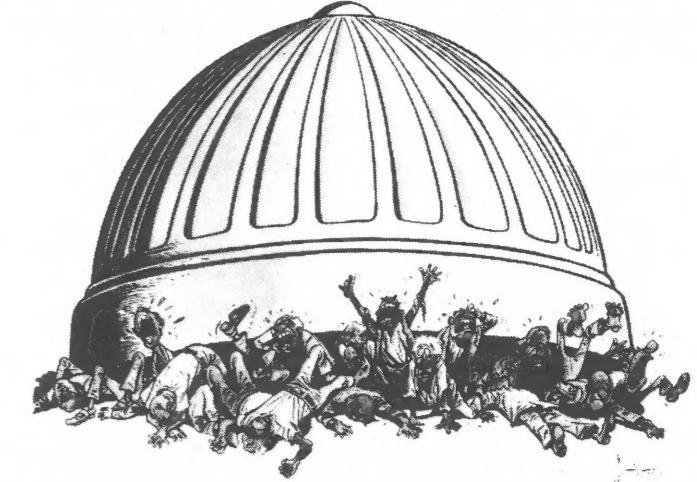
In countries with elected heads of state, the power of the rich to select the President of their choice is ensured by the tremendous expense of election campaigns. Those striving to become head of state can make promises to their potential supporters secure in the knowledge that once they are elected, they have years in which they can break the promises, as the electors have no method by which they can bring their 'Chief Executive' to account. The President of the United States must answer to the voters only once every four years; the French president once every seven years.

Whether the executive power belongs to a hereditary ruler or to an elected president, assemblies, parliaments and legislatures, according to the theory of representative democracy, are meant to restrict and control them. In Britain, the tradition has grown up over the centuries that the government is appointed by the Sovereign, but must be able to command a majority in Parliament — specifically in the House of Commons. The right of all adults to vote in elections to the House of Commons was fought for and bloodily opposed by the authorities for over a century. Universal adult suffrage — one person, one vote — was achieved only in 1948, when the right of business owners and university graduates to two votes in parliamentary elections was abolished. Young People between the ages of 18 and 21 were given the vote only in 1963; double voting in local elections was abolished only in 1979. And though the powers of the unelected House of Lords

were reduced in 1911 and 1948, this remnant of feudalism still has real power. Parliamentary democracy in Britain is newer and less complete than is officially acknowledged.

In Britain, it is claimed that the Queen — whose political views are overwhelmingly reactionary — plays little part in Government. The distinguished nineteenth century constitutional expert, Walter Bagehot, described the monarchy as a 'dignified' part of the constitution, by which he meant that it had a ceremonial, rather than a real function. It is not quite as cut and dried as that; but the greater part of the powers of the monarch have passed to 'her' Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister now has tremendous powers of patronage. He or she has the sole right to appoint people to ministerial and other offices carrying



## Facts and fantasy surround Western democracy

**IN THE United States Ronald Reagan has been inaugurated as President, although only a minority of Americans gave him their vote. In Britain, the Conservative Government remains in power despite the disastrous consequences of Mrs Thatcher's policies, and the fact that the Tories received only one-third of the possible votes in the last election. James Ellison examines the facts and the fantasy of western democracy, and assesses the new political democracy on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based.**

influence and generous salaries. The Premier thus gathers a large body of support inside and outside his own party, from people who will follow anyone for personal gain.

The civil service works under the direction of the Prime Minister. Former ministers including the late Richard Crossman, and Tony Benn, have described how senior civil servants are accustomed to going behind the back of the minister they are supposed to be serving, and informing the Prime Minister of their opposition to 'their' minister's policies, even when such policies are in line with those of the party forming the Government.

When one party is in power, its majority in Parliament renders it unassailable. The Party machine becomes a method of imposing the wishes of the Government on the members of parliament. In many assemblies there are a handful of members who genuinely seek to represent the wishes of their constituents, and to use their position to extract information and to pressure the government. But such efforts by MPs acting alone can have no long term impact. The party leaderships cannot tolerate rebels, and the whips, the party officials who organise MPs on behalf of the leaderships, make strenuous efforts to persuade the rebels to return to the fold with promises of advancement or threats of isolation.

The criticism of representative democracy in the *Green Book* is structural, not merely moral. The Third Universal Theory opposes the isolation which the election system imposes on parliamentarians, and the focus of political attention on government and parliament rather than on the people themselves which inevitably accompanies it.

Representation is a denial of participation, the *Green Book* says, because the infrequency of elections makes it impossible for people really to bring their wishes ▶

## Minority governments in the West

**ELECTIONS CAN never represent the wishes of a people, and that fact is abundantly clear to many people in traditional democracies. In the recent US elections, the total number of people who voted was just over 83 million. Nearly 43 million of them voted for President Reagan. But the official figure for those entitled to vote in the United States — adults above the age of 18 — is 160 million. So only about 27 per cent of Americans, according to their own figures, chose Mr Reagan.**

**In fact, the proportion of Americans who backed Mr Reagan is probably even smaller. The figure of 160 million has been criticised by demographic experts as itself a considerable underestimate of the actual number of adult Americans. Those who are excluded from the electoral census are mainly the poor and the black, native American, and other minorities, because recent budget cuts meant that proper census data is no longer collected, particularly in urban areas. Despite the ominous threat which Reagan's policies pose for peace and for the future of Third World countries, he is able to wield the military might of the United States although the vast majority of his fellow countrymen did not vote for him. Perhaps American commentators given to criticising the alleged lack of democracy in Libya and other Third World countries should be**

**more frequently reminded of this.**

**Similarly, in Britain, the Government takes power with the support of less than half of those entitled to vote. In May 1979, the Conservative Party received the votes of 13,697,923 people, almost exactly one third of the 41,093,264 people entitled to vote. Yet they won 339 of the 635 seats in the House of Commons, well over half. So undemocratic is the British system that in 1951, the year in which more people voted for the Labour Party than ever — 13,948,000 of them, 40 per cent of the electorate in those days — they actually lost the election, winning only 295 seats in the House of Commons to 321 for the Conservatives, who received 231,067 fewer votes.**

**The British Liberal Party has frequently complained that the votes which it receives are not translated into seats in the House of Commons. At the 1979 election, the Liberal Party received over 4 million votes, which was nearly 14 per cent of the votes cast, but only eleven seats — 1.7 per cent of the membership of the House of Commons. Other western countries have slightly less quaint systems which ensure a closer correlation of seats and votes cast. But all suffer from the basic defect of representative democracies — the isolation of the elected representatives from those whom they are supposed to represent.**

► to bear. The most frequent consultation takes place in the United States, where congressional representatives serve for only two years between elections. Even when there are frequent elections, it is still possible for one person to continue to hold a 'safe' seat for decades, benefiting from their party's votes regardless of their own activity.

During election campaigns, the party leaders speak to the electors through television and the press, but there is no way in which the people can speak to the party leaders. Western countries have witnessed a burgeoning of special interest and so-called 'pressure' groups over the past fifty years. They exist to put the views or defend the interests of one group within the community. As such they are a partial and inadequate substitute for any better and more regular expression of popular opinion.

The *Green Book* says: 'The member keeps no popular organisational link with the electors, since like other people he is looked on as a representative of the people as a whole.' Defenders of this situation have long sought to portray it as actually a virtuous and effective state of affairs. It was the Tory politician Edmund Burke, a leading eighteenth century

opponent of social progress in Britain, who formulated the doctrine that a member must be free to exercise his own 'conscience' regardless of the wishes of those who elected him. Burke's opinions were aired in opposition to the tide of radical fervour then sweeping Europe in the wake of the French Revolution. He was particularly opposed to the Jacobins, the radical faction of the French revolutionaries, who sought to make members of the French Assembly people's delegates rather than mere representatives. In reality, the independence from the voters extolled by Burke leads not to real independence, but to members becoming the tools of the party machines.

That the reactionary views of a Tory Anglo-Irish aristocrat uttered nearly two hundred years ago, should be remembered at all is surprising. That they should be, as at the moment, the central core of a constitutional doctrine which is propagated daily in the British press and is accepted throughout the west, is downright shameful.

Attempts are now being made in the Labour Party to give ordinary party members a greater control over their representatives in Parliament.

This is a recognition of the problem.

But the *Green Book* calls for more far-reaching solutions. Brother Qadhafi points out that the party system is doomed to failure because it is simply a permit for the successful party to impose its sectional demands on society as a whole. It fails to resolve disagreements among the people.

The system of direct democracy proposed in the *Green Book*, and implemented in the Libyan Jamahiriya is intended to overcome both the isolation and the fragmentation which are the defects of traditional democracies. The government of the people by parties, and the imperfect supervision of government activities by parliaments, is to be replaced by the 'supervision of the people by the people', as the *Green Book* has it.

Power resides in the Basic People's Congresses open to all citizens of the community. Rather than simply standing in line to cast a vote, people meet each other face to face to discuss issues and thrash out problems. There is no equivalent of the Basic Congresses in the western system; the nearest equivalent is probably a trade union branch or other voluntary organisation, except that the Basic Congresses, of course can and do decide any issue affecting the people.

The existence of the Basic Congresses means that the other institutions of the Jamahiriya, while they can be seen as analogous to similar organs of other political systems, in fact function quite differently. Basic Congresses send delegates to Municipal People's Congresses, which are responsible for the administration of a particular town or urban area. But unlike traditional local authorities, Municipal People's Congresses can debate only those matters brought before them by the delegates from the Basic Congresses. The same is true of the General People's Congress. In one sense, it functions as a parliament, but the delegate system ensures that unlike traditional parliaments, all the issues which it decides have first been the subjects of intense popular discussion at the Basic Congresses.

Even the agenda for the Municipal and General People's Congresses is decided by the Basic Congresses. People's Committees are appointed to run the Secretariats of the General People's Congress. These fulfil the functions of the ministries in traditional systems. But they are not part of a government which exists to control the people; they exist solely to execute the policies which have been evolved through the Basic People's Congresses and have been approved by the General People's Congress.

So, as *The Green Book* puts it, 'The solution is for the people to become the instrument of governing — from Basic People's Congresses to the General People's Congress. The government administration is abolished and replaced by people's committees.' There is a fusion of executive and legislative functions, and both are in the hands of the people rather than specialised bodies.

THE FIRST contracts for the Libyan Jamahiriya's first integrated iron and steel plant have been awarded. The complex is to be constructed at the port town of Misrata, Libya's third largest city, about 150 kilometres east of Tripoli. Plans drawn up by the engineering consultant, India's M N Dastur, allow for construction in three phases. The \$3,300-million first phase is scheduled for completion in 1985, and provides for an output of 1.2 million tonnes of steel. The second phase, for completion in 1991, calls for output to rise to 5 million tonnes per year while the third stage entails further expansion of capacity to 7 million tonnes per annum by 2005.

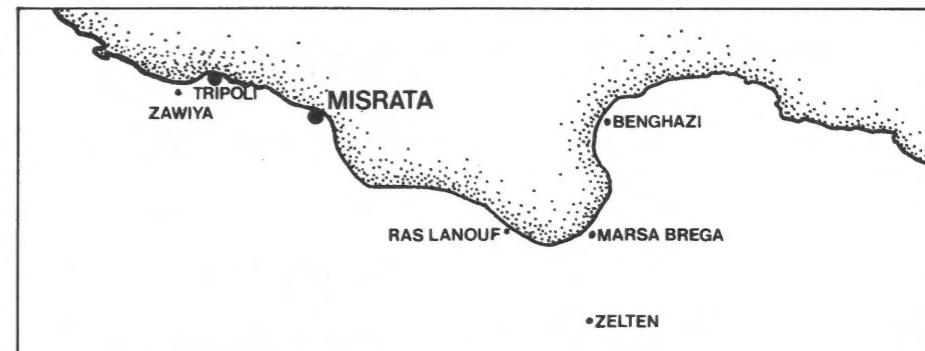
Kobe Steel of Japan has been awarded a \$770 million contract to construct a cold rolling mill and a hot rolling mill with an annual capacity of 400,000 tonnes of bars and rolls, *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 2nd January. Austria's Voest-Alpine has received a letter of intent for the supply of a second cold rolling mill, to produce 120,000 tonnes per annum of sheet steel.

A joint venture between Japan's Kawasaki Heavy Industries and Mexico's Hojalata & Lamina has won a \$430 million contract for a direct reduction plant with an annual capacity of 550,000 tonnes. The plant will convert iron ore into steel pellets. The latter will then be mixed with scrap metal and fed into a steel production plant, which in turn will supply the rolling mills.

The General Company for Iron and Steel Projects, which is responsible for the Misrata steel works, has yet to award a number of other contracts, including those for the steel production plant and for a second hot steel rolling mill. Friedrich Krupp of West Germany is reportedly negotiating for the production plant and Italimpianti of Italy is tipped to be awarded the hot rolling mill contract.

The spate of contracts for the steel works comes after three years of uncertainty over the tendering arrangements. In 1977 sections of the steel plant were put out as separate tenders. In November 1978 the individual tenders were combined into a single package and re-tendered. Finally, the steel works was put out to tender in 25 packages.

During the plant's first phase, the raw material will be iron ore imported through its own harbour, the \$282 million contract for which was awarded last November to the Turkish engineering firm Sezai Turkes Feyzi Akkaya. The Dutch company Royal Bos Kalis Westminster is to be subcontractor for dredging. During the second phase of the plant's development, however, Libya's own iron ore reserves will be exploited. A survey recently confirmed iron ore deposits totalling 1,000 million tonnes in the Wadi Shatti area, deep in the Sahara in south west Libya near the town of Sebha. A 992-kilometre railway, designed by Yugoslavia's Projekt-Inzenjering, will carry the ore through the desert to Misrata. In addition



Misrata: New iron and steel complex

## Foundations laid for Jamahiriya's steel production era

BY THE end of the century, the Libyan Jamahiriya's steel production will have set the country on a firm industrial footing. The prospects for its strengthening of the economy look good, as the construction of a major steel and iron complex gets under way at the new industrial city sited at Misrata.

to the iron ore, the Jamahiriya has an estimated 2,000 million tonnes of hematite and magnetite with an iron content of between 35 and 50 per cent.

The steel works forms the nucleus of a comprehensive development programme for Misrata, whose population seems certain to grow rapidly in the coming years. Central to this has been the housing project designed by West Germany's Weidleplan Consulting. The firm's brief called for dwellings which, while offering all the benefits of modern building methods, also reflect traditional Islamic architectural systems. The first phase of the scheme comprises housing for 50,000 people in ten districts as well as the construction of a city centre with administrative buildings, a town hall, a 400-bed hospital, museums, libraries, exhibition halls and sports facilities.

The 400-bed hospital is only one of several planned or executed improvements of Misrata's health care facilities. A 200-bed hospital was recently completed by a Yugoslavian concern, and the Health Secretariat has commissioned a maternity and children's hospital with between 100 and 200 beds. In late 1977 an outpatients' clinic was opened with a medical staff of 130 and sophisticated X-ray equipment.

Misrata's infrastructure is also undergoing rapid development. In early 1979 it was reported that the Indian Kamani Engineering Corporation had been contracted to install a 100 kilometre 220 kV electricity transmission line from Homs, some 80 kilometres east of Tripoli, to Misrata. This is designed primarily to meet the increased demand for electricity as the town expands. A separate power and desalination plant is to be built for the steel works, whose furnaces will also be fuelled by natural gas piped from the oilfields in the east.

A 210 kilometre railway is to be built linking Misrata with Tripoli, while the town's Qasr Ahmad port, opened in June 1978, has been expanded. In addition, a Yugoslavian company has completed a large fishing port as part of the Jamahiriya's national marine development programme.

The Jamahiriya's domestic demand for steel will be unable to absorb the output of the Misrata plant when operating at its projected capacity. Much of the production will thus be exported. It has been suggested that at a time when international demand for steel has slumped because of the world recession, it was unwise for Libya to contemplate a steel plant with such enormous projected capacity. It is expected, however, that by 1985, when the first phase of the plant becomes operational, world demand for steel should be picking up. Libya will nevertheless face fierce competition in the international market from producers from the industrialised countries, who have formidable marketing and distribution facilities at their disposal; but the Jamahiriya does seem well placed to supply the Arab and African markets. There is only a handful of steel works in these regions, restricting competition. Moreover, Libya's location should lead to lower transport costs to these markets than western producers must incur. Libyan steel should thus be cheaper than that from the industrialised countries.

WHEN PLANNING Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa addressed the General People's Congress on 3rd January he was able to report a growth rate, in real terms, of more than 7 per cent per annum in the Jamahiriya's national income and in almost all its individual economic sectors during the period of the 1976-80 Transformation Plan. The impressive results of the plan had been achieved despite a number of difficulties, foremost amongst them the shortage of skilled manpower.

The Planning Secretary reported that as a result of these achievements, per capita income in the Jamahiriya rose from LD 1,369 in 1975 to about LD 3,000 in 1980, at an average annual growth rate of 17 per cent. The average per capita income is now about \$10,000.

Given Libya's determination to decrease her dependence on oil revenues, it is particularly encouraging that the highest growth rates were attained in the non-oil sectors. Of these, the highest annual growth rate was in public services, which expanded by an average of 17.5 per cent per annum, compared with a planned rate of just over 8 per cent. Medical services grew at 14 per cent, compared with an annual planned growth rate of 12 per cent. In the educational sector expansion at 14 per cent per annum, has met projected targets. Mr Abu Freiwa reported that the average per annum growth rate in processing industries was 21 per cent, in electric power 20 per cent and in construction 5 per cent.

The only disappointment was in agriculture, which expanded at a rate of only 3.6 per cent, compared with a planned 15.8 per cent. This reflected poor weather conditions and the fact that agricultural projects take a long time to come into production.

Of the total expenditure of LD 7,600 million in the 1976-80 plan, the allocation for agriculture totalled LD 1,817 million. Mr Abu Freiwa reported that the actual outlay achieved was LD 1,304 million. About 91,000 hectares of land had been reclaimed for irrigated farming and about 800,000 hectares of farmland had been distributed to new owners. At present, he said, about 66,000 hectares were being reclaimed for irrigated cultivation, about 355,000 hectares for non-irrigated farming and 1.5 million hectares for pasture.

Total investments in manufacturing of LD 1,334 million resulted in 57 factories starting operation. Twenty were in the food processing sector, 14 were for cement and building materials, 9 in the chemical and petrochemical sectors, 7 in metal and engineering, 5 for textiles and clothing and two in the paper and printing sectors. At present, reported the Planning Secretary, 45 factories were under construction and 46 others were in the final planning stages.

The expansion of the Jamahiriya's industrial base, said Mr Abu Freiwa, had allowed significant reductions in Libyan imports. In 1975 the Jamahiriya had to import 82 per cent of her cement require-

## Planning Secretary reviews five years' progress

**DESPITE THE serious handicaps involved in the development of the Third World country, the Revolution in the Libyan Jamahiriya can point to some remarkable achievements in the socio-economic field. During the General People's Congress in January, Planning Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa reviewed the progress and achievements of the past five years.**

ments. The figure had fallen to 25 per cent by 1980. The equivalent figures for lime were 93 per cent and 47 per cent; for shoes, 95 per cent and 64 per cent; and for animal feedstuffs, 79 per cent and 61 per cent.

The petrochemicals sector was a major focus of the 1976-80 plan and the rapid development of this sector accounts for the growing importance of petrochemicals exports. Libya first exported oil-based products in 1979 but by last year, reported Mr Abu Freiwa, no less than 5 per cent of the Jamahiriya's total exports were accounted for by the products of her petrochemicals industries.

Investments in the electricity sector in the plan period totalled LD 860 million, Congress was told, resulting in a growth in real terms averaging more than 20 per cent per annum, compared with a planned rate of 23 per cent. Generating capacity increased from 879 in 1975 to 1,950 MW in 1980, and actual output rose from 1,869 kWh in 1975 to 4,800 kWh last

### Agricultural achievements of the 1976-80 plan

|   | 1975 production<br>(tonnes) | 1980 production<br>(tonnes) | % of Libyan demand covered |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Wheat   | 75,000                      | 141,000                     | 34                         |
| Fruit   | 128,000                     | 163,000                     | 86                         |
| Olives  | 120,000                     | 150,000                     | na                         |
| Vegetables  | 564,000                     | 669,000                     | 98                         |
| Meat  | 44,000                      | 59,000                      | 46                         |
| Milk  | 87,000                      | 110,000                     | 38                         |
| Egg production increased from 187 million to 285 million. |                             |                             |                            |

year. The output of sea water desalination plants, which are integral parts of several of the Jamahiriya's power stations, reached 182.7 million cubic metres per day.

The Planning Secretary also reported impressive progress in transport and communications. There were 10,700 kilometres of metalled roads in 1980, compared with 7,747 kilometres five years earlier. According to the Jamahiriya News Agency (JANA), 2,300 kilometres of agricultural roads were built during the plan period, and 2,263 kilometres of major roads, while 3,000 kilometres of agricultural and branch roads are currently under construction. 1,180 kilometres of railway line were either being planned or were under study, said Mr Abu Freiwa. Eight new aircraft had been added to the civil air fleet, bringing the total to 17. Postal and telephone links had been extended to most parts of the Jamahiriya. The Libyan maritime fleet had also witnessed considerable growth, he said. Two liners and two cargo ships, of 7,500 tonnes each, and seven oil tankers totalling 761,000 tonnes had been added to the merchant marine, bringing the total to 21 ships of 1.21 million tonnes. In the field of road passenger transport, 126 coaches had been bought, said the Planning Secretary, and 174 more were scheduled to be added by the end of last year.

Mr Abu Freiwa also reported progress in welfare:

- **Housing:** the plan provided for the construction of 150,000 units, of which 80,316 had already been completed and more than 60,000 were under construction.

- **Education:** the number of pupils increased from 753,468 in the 1975/76 academic year to 1,025,193 in 1980/81. There was an increase in the number of teachers from 37,994 to 55,023.

- **Health:** there are now 4.5 hospital beds per thousand residents. Twenty hospitals are currently under construction, in addition to 28 rural hospitals, with a combined total of about 1,400 beds.

- **Municipal projects:** about LD 760 million had been allocated for municipal projects.

Mr Abu Freiwa's report highlighted the giant strides the Jamahiriya has taken over the last five years towards its declared objective of achieving a degree of economic integration allowing self-sustained economic growth. The new five year plan points to continued rapid progress towards this goal in the years to come.

## Success for ABC

MR ABDULLAH Saudi, Chief Executive of the Arab Banking Corporation (ABC), has said the bank has attained all its first-year targets, reported *Middle East Economic Digest* on 16th January. At the end of 1980, the assets of the Bahrain-based consortium, established in January last year by the Libyan Jamahiriya, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, stood at \$1,952 million. Balance sheet footings, including contra accounts, were \$2,300 million. Deposits had risen to \$1,500 million at the end of December, from \$1,004 million at 30th November. The loan portfolio stood at \$296 million at the end of December. Since its establishment, ABC has lead-managed syndicated loans of more than \$2,000 million.

## Arabs' dependence on foreign food

AN ARAB food expert has drawn an alarming picture of the extent of Arab dependence on the industrialised nations for food supplies and has urged Arab oil-producing states to direct their investments towards the agricultural sector.

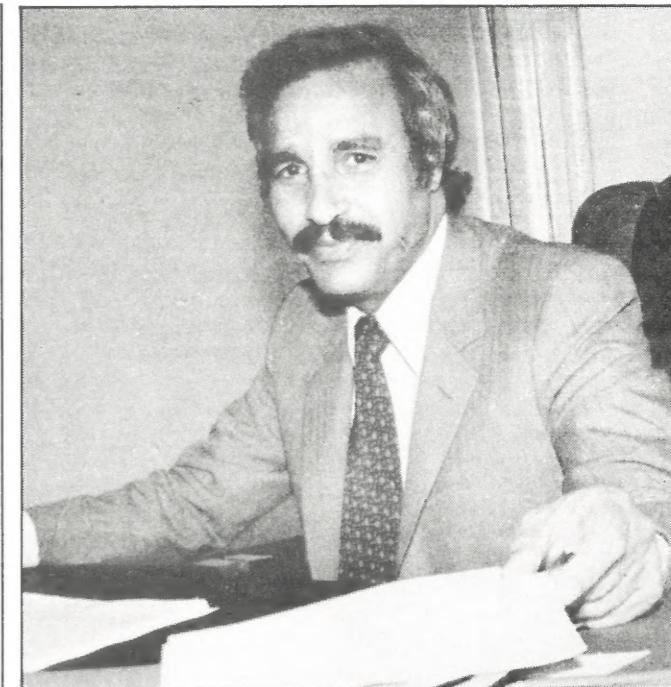
Addressing a seminar on oil and its effects on the Arab homeland, held in Abu Dhabi in January, Dr Ahmad Selim Khalil, food expert at the Kuwait-based Arab Planning Institute, said the instability of agricultural production in Arab countries and their increasing dependence on world markets to meet the resulting shortages represented a dangerous trend which needed indepth study. Dr Khalil also examined the relationship between oil price rises and those of food products, saying that the prices of some foods had risen more than three times since 1973.

The seminar was organised by the Arab Planning Institute in co-operation with the governments of the Gulf states.

## Meeting for Islamic industry ministers

A ROUND table conference of Islamic ministers of industry is scheduled to be held in Islamabad from 23rd-26th February. The conference is to explore practical avenues of industrial co-operation between member states of the Islamic Conference.

The focus will reportedly be on co-operation in the fields of engineering and capital goods industries, joint ventures, technical training and research, and financial co-operation for industrial development.



Mr Abdullah Saudi, heading joint banking venture

## Focus on the Arab brain drain

THE ARAB-British Chamber of Commerce has produced a report containing suggestions for reversing the 'brain-drain' suffered by Arab countries. The key proposals are the introduction of long-term planning into the Arab states' educational systems to provide sufficient research projects to ensure that significant numbers of university graduates stay on; the creation of short-term contracts in the professions to lure professionals back to their countries of origin; and better planning of skilled manpower recruitment needs by individual governments.

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There were an estimated four million Arabs living outside the Arab homeland at the end of 1977, according to the report, a figure that doubles if the families of the emigrants are included. The financial loss to the Arab homeland from the brain drain is estimated at \$400 million per annum. The report highlights medicine as an area particularly hard-hit by the brain drain. Up to 1977, 27,000 graduate doctors left the Arab world, about 33 per cent of the total who qualified.

The problem of the Arab brain drain was also underlined by Amina Rashid al Hamdan, Director of Foreign Relations at the Kuwait Ministry of Social Affairs, speaking to the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al Qabas* in early January.

ly denounced the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries for its oil pricing policies.

The 1,250-page report says the cartel increases the price of equipment to developing countries by nearly 30 per cent and also restricts the transfer of technology. Equipment involved reportedly includes turbines, transformers, switch gear and nuclear power plant.

The report's authors, Dr Barbara Epstein and Dr Richard Newfarmer, say the cartel operates from Switzerland under the name of the International Electrical Association.

Cartel members, say the report, have signed agreements among themselves that include guidelines for price-fixing agreements, mechanisms for arranging meetings in advance of tenders and, in certain cases, procedures for allocating orders among themselves. The report says most agreements contain provisions by which successful tenderers compensate losers with cash payments, 'exchanges that amount to millions of dollars annually.' It says the cartel dates back to 1930, when nine companies signed a price-fixing agreement.

The IEA cartel now covers 'almost \$2 billion of sales annually,' says the report, with most sales going to the Third World. Developing countries are now paying 'substantially more' than they should for all types of heavy electrical equipment. 'On average for all situations,' the report says, 'developing countries paid 129.3 per cent of the reference (normal) price' for imported equipment. In some cases they paid 162 per cent of the normal price.

'In the last analysis,' the report continues, 'the cartel widens the gaps in income levels separating the wealthy industrialised home countries of cartel members and the poor importing nations.'

## Yugoslavia boosts trade with Arabs

YUGOSLAVIA'S COMBINED imports from and exports to the Arab countries jumped by one third last year compared to 1979 to a total of \$2,220 million. The official news agency Tanjug said trade with the Arab homeland made up 59 per cent of Yugoslavia's total trade with developing countries.

In 1980 Yugoslavia exported goods worth \$844 million to Arab countries, a 32 per cent increase over 1979. Imports from the Arab homeland were put at \$1,376 million, a 34 per cent increase over 1979, calculated from January to November.

# THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

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In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammar al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

# jamahiriya review

March 1981

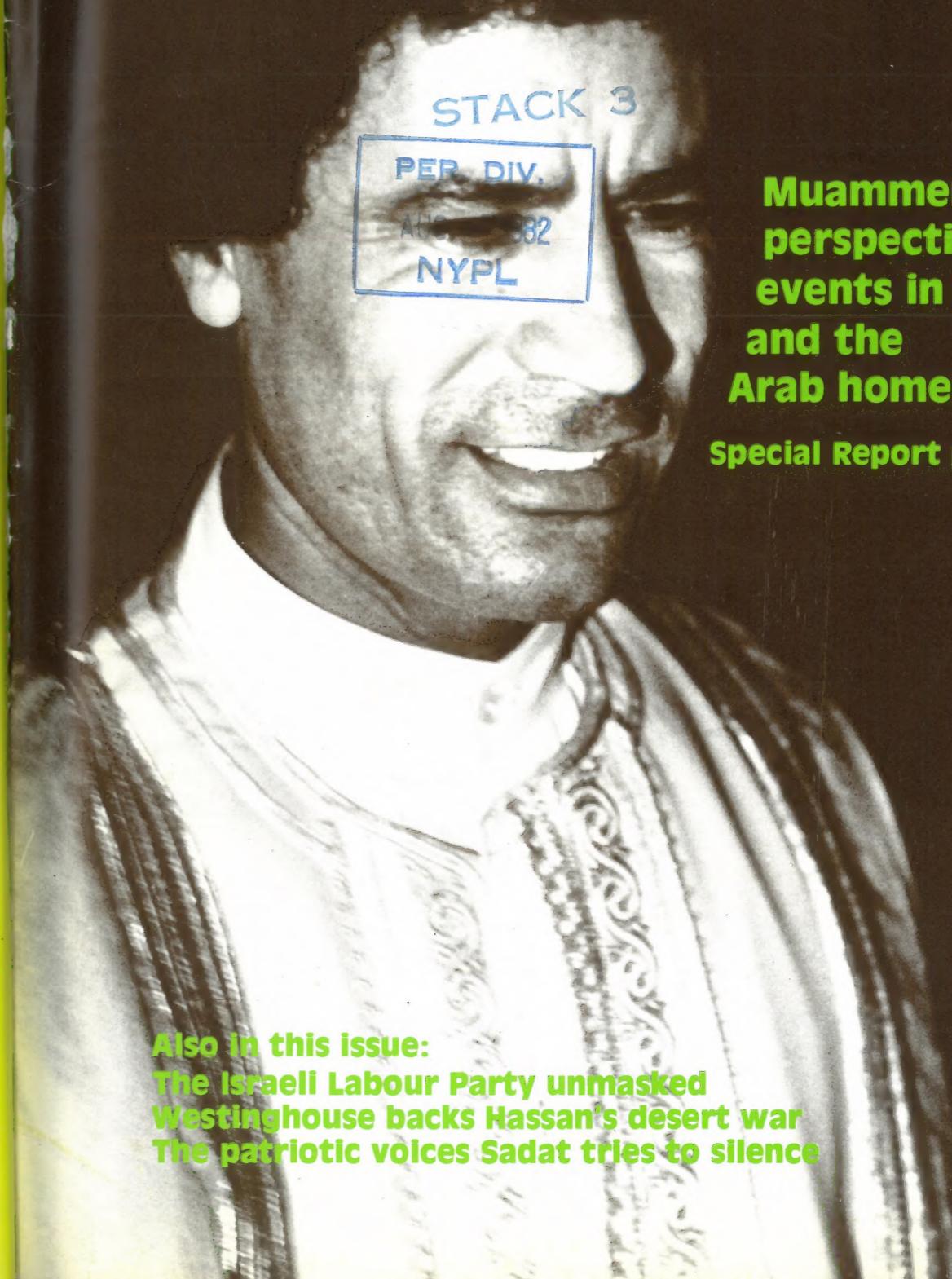
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